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ABSTRACT

A 3-month study at Mission Neighborhood Family Center and at Telegraph Hill Social Center surveyed questions as related to the experience of these "family schools" with young immigrant families (Central and South American, Caribbean, Chinese, Filipino, French, Irish, Italian, Mexican, Scandinavian, Slavic, Spanish, and Samoan): How can the centers facilitate the children's acquisition of English? How can the centers affect the children's preschool experiences so as to promote elementary school adjustment? What kinds of adaptations in curriculum materials, teaching styles, nursery school designs, and other nursery school procedures would be necessary to realize the foregoing goals? In recognition of the increasing value of bilingual skills and of the fact that foreign language study is now required in California's elementary schools, can the centers develop the child's mother-tongue so as to preserve this head start? Although many relevant data could not be obtained because of time limitation, recommendations are reported in the areas of general facilities, composition of the nursery school group, age grouping, qualifying American children for enrollment, other admission procedures, health requirements, special activities, and professional resources. In general, it is concluded that mixing immigrant children with their English-speaking contemporaries (on a 50-50 basis in groups of no more than 20) seems the most fruitful approach to helping the "family school" children with (1) learning English, (2) elementary school readiness, and (3) problems of acculturation. (JB)

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CURRICULUM AND TEACHING STRATEGIES FOR NON-ENGLISH SPEAKING NURSERY SCHOOL CHILDREN IN A FAMILY SCHOOL

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Mission Neighborhood Center, Inc. San Francisco, California, 1965.

PREFACE

This is an introductory study for the Mission Neighborhood Family Center and the Telegraph Hill Social Center on some of the questions involved in their work with young immigrant families. It was prepared during the three months of the summer school recess and is not expected to provide all-inclusive or definitive answers to these questions. Many findings and relevant data could not be obtained and used because of time limitation.

The work was undertaken in spite of these limitations with the hope of eliciting and highlighting some of the most important clues and ideas upon which to build in the future.

We have tried to describe and understand the problems; to clarify our goals; to learn what solutions have been used by others in working with such problems, and to outline the kinds of approaches which might offer the most fruitful solutions for our Family Schools.

It is hoped also that this exploration might be meaningful to others whose professional assignments bring them to similar problems in the future.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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It was possible to develop a picture of the families who come to the Family Schools, and gain an understanding of their problems through the many conferences with the social workers who know them at the Mission Neighborhood Family Center (Mr. Ricardo Morado) and at Telegraph Hill Social Center (Mrs. Julianna Chinn).

In the preparation of this paper the benefit of ideas, experience and suggestions was used from many people whose special knowledge and backgrounds had important bearing on the problems discussed. Some of these specialists were contacted by telephone; some met with us in lengthy conferences; some of them made available valuable or unpublished materials; all were helpful and encouraging, and include:

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William Dumont, President
Mission Neighborhood Centers

Edward M. Griffith, President
Telegraph Hill Neighborhood Association

INTRODUCTION

The Centers

The two centers for whom this paper is written are the Mission Neighborhood Family Center at 3013 24th Street, one of the branches of the Mission Neighborhood Centers, Inc., and the Telegraph Hill Social Center at 660 Lombard Street in San Francisco, one of the departments of the Telegraph Hill Neighborhood Association.

The work of both agencies is made possible through the generous contributions of the United Community Fund of San Francisco, as well as many individual and community organizations. They are governed by Boards of Directors who coordinate all activities and services through the Executive Director, Irving M. Kriegsfeld.

Each Center has an advisory committee composed of widely representative and interested laymen and professional leaders from the entire community. A wide range of services and activities is offered by both Centers and are open to anyone who lives in the neighborhood served by the Center.

The Family School is a service offered at both Centers. The term Family School describes a service by means of which mothers of young children can come to the Center and participate in the English-Americanization classes made available by the Adult Education Department of the San Francisco Unified School District. While the mother is in the class her preschool children participate in the nursery school program in adjacent facilities.

Mission Neighborhood Family Center

In 1960 the Mission Neighborhood Centers, Inc., conducted a self-survey to provide a basis for program planning. The following description of the area served by the Center is an adaptation from that report (89).

The Mission District is the home of most of the city's railroad tracks and the city's docks are also found in this part of the Mission. Industry is here and gradually expanding...the area seems to be developing in two directions: it is becoming blighted--it is a potential slum; yet there is new building and property improvement. Historically, the Mission has been a middle class neighborhood with an unusually large proportion of families. A count revealed that the area houses 24 parochial schools, 49 public schools and 48 public playgrounds! These are only a few of the many community resources in the Mission. The stores, restaurants and theatres boast a familiar sign: "Se hable Espanol". The Mission district is not a homogeneous one; it includes many economic and ethnic groups and continues to be a temporary home to many families which are "on their way up" to more middle-class residential areas. It is the district which also includes the "Mission Miracle Mile", the scene of active heavy retail merchandising.

The 1960 self-survey also revealed increasing incidence of juvenile delinquency and school drop-outs. It also indicated that many homes are being replaced by commercial buildings, and that multiple dwellings are being made from buildings which formerly housed single families.

Although there are indications of increasing proportions of minority group families in the area, the Mission District has no ghettoes and seems to be able to maintain both economic and ethnically integrated living patterns.

The families interviewed in the course of the self-survey represented many backgrounds in terms of race, nationality, ethnicity, education, earning ability, interests and leisure time activities. The primary source of entertainment for these families is television. The majority of families do not own automobiles. Most of them belong to a church and while the Protestant affiliations varied, about 50% of the families identified themselves as Roman Catholics.

The nationalities represented in the sample included Central and South American, Caribbean, Filipino, French, Irish, Italian, Mexican, Scandinavian, Scotch, Slavic, Spanish and Samoan.

During the summer of 1964 the membership in the Family Schools consisted largely of people from South and Central American countries (El Salvador, Nicaragua, etc.). Because the immigration quotas for Latin American nationals are unlimited, there is an increasing number of families coming to the Centers also from Honduras, Guatemala, Peru, Cuba, etc. This trend can be expected to continue for some time.

Telegraph Hill Social Center

In 1962 the Telegraph Hill Neighborhood Association prepared a Self-Study Report (124) to use as a guide for future planning of services and programs. This Self-Study Report gives us the following information about the area served by them:

This Center is located in the North Beach-Chinatown area where as many as 30,000 Chinese-Americans live and work. In recent years there has been an increase in the number of immigrants from Hong Kong and other "overseas" Chinese communities. These new arrivals are not as quickly absorbed into the long established Chinatown community as previous waves of immigrants. The various reasons for this are not the direct concern of this report; briefly they are related to a constellation of social changes affecting all urban centers today.

The 1960 Census Housing Analysis prepared by the City Planning Department indicates that a large part of the area served by this Center "encompasses the second largest number of sub-marginal housing units in the entire city." The conditions in Chinatown are characterized by overcrowding, dilapidation and deterioration of the housing. In recent years, because of the availability of cheap labor non-unionized sub-contract garment factories have developed. Casual observation indicates conditions reminiscent of the sweat-shop life of an earlier era. The entire area houses somewhat over 100,000 people, or about 1/7 of San Francisco's total population.

The predominant ethnic groups include Chinese, Italians, a sprinkling of Negroes, American Indians and Filipinos.

The elementary schools in the area have over 50% Chinese-American student bodies. It is suspected that significant acculturation difficulties exist among the youngsters of the various ethnic groups. No data are available from school authorities from which to assess the scope and nature of such difficulties. It is quite clear that the area continues to attract the newly arrived immigrant--especially the Chinese refugees and escapees.

Broad Objectives of This Report

Development of Family Schools

At the turn of the century, when the Centers were working with other groups of immigrants, there were no kindergartens in the public schools. This changed situation means that the young children of present immigrants begin their public school careers one year earlier--leaving less time for language learning and acculturation before school entrance.

Employment patterns have also changed. Often the men work far away from home; some are home only on weekends or for other short periods. This deprives the young mother of her usual interpreter. Among the women there is also an increasing tendency to go to work. It is not new for young immigrant mothers to help the family income by working. Today, however, jobs which can be done in or even near the home are not easily found. It becomes more and more difficult for both men and women to find jobs which do not require some mastery of English as well as other special skills.

Another recent trend which prompted exploration of new directions is the growing nation-wide concern for young children who come to their elementary school experience with various social, psychological and cultural disadvantages.

In California the recent introduction of the concept of "compensatory education" through the McAteer Act (Senate Bill 115, Ch. 98, 1963) has stimulated many programs for such children. Among those who are helped under this act are many whose mother-tongue is Spanish (22) (83).

There is also increasing recognition of the significance of the preschool years as a suitable time for helpful intervention (16) (55) (65) (19). While the importance of the early years in healthy emotional development has long been recognized, recent research is bringing into focus the way in which the experience of these early years impinges upon intellectual development.

Reports indicate a world-wide increase of interest in language learning. (58) (97) It is estimated that nearly 300 million people speak English throughout the world today. For most of them English is a second language and perhaps, indirectly, this is related to a corresponding interest in improving the language skills of all children. Among

those who come to the Centers from Central and South America, there are some who plan to return to their native land to be employed by American firms there. These adults are highly motivated to learn English in the Adult Education classes.

The two agencies: Mission Neighborhood Centers, Inc., and the Telegraph Hill Neighborhood Associations, have long shared in the settlement house tradition of helping immigrants with the task of making a home in a new country. Helping such families with various problems of acculturation is not new to the Centers. But the helping role and the problems involved have changed over the years in such a way as to demand new solutions, and bring new concerns within the scope of the agencies' services.

The Family Schools are the specific responsibilities of the Family Center of the Mission Neighborhood Centers and the Social Center at Telegraph Hill. The genesis of these Schools reflects more than just practical innovations; they are the outgrowth of many different factors involved in the Centers' work.

To begin with, Americanization classes, offered by the Adult Education Department are part of a long-established Americanization tradition wherever newcomers are to be found. But these classes could not be useful to the young immigrant mother; she could not easily leave her young children in the day time to attend classes. In the evenings, her husband has to attend the classes, and arrangements for baby-sitters are difficult for the young immigrant mothers.

The only way that she could take advantage of these classes was to provide some kind of care for the children. Sometimes mothers had their small children with them in the English class. This tended to reduce the effectiveness of the class for the mother, and could be quite trying for the child. Thus, in order to help the mothers, the Centers undertook to provide care for their children in rooms adjacent to the adult classes.

In this way it became possible for many young women to attend English-Americanization classes who formerly could not. The child care arrangements have been the best available, in spite of staff shortages and other problems related to the facilities.

The Centers' staff then began to ask: as long as the children come every day with their mothers, why not try to make their stay as meaningful and worthwhile as possible? Why not plan a purposeful program for the time that the children are at the Center which will help them, their mothers and the whole family? This presented one new challenge to the Centers.

Another challenge arose out of the recent and growing recognition of the importance of synthesizing the work of helping services and institutions in social welfare programs. (39) (42) Such program synthesis is one of the objectives of the Centers and is facilitated by having a wide variety of helping services "under one roof".

The Centers offer counseling for both personal and environmental problems; a medical clinic; liaison with various public agencies; legal aid and other professional resources. Optimum blending of all of these services increases the usefulness of each of them. It also makes possible early intervention into difficult situations and provides these various helping processes so that they are easily and readily accessible to the families who come to the Centers. Thus, the nursery school is only one part of a broader program of services.

Thus, the recent experience of the Centers with young immigrant families has led to many questions concerning how to "tool up" for today's job of helping them. Answering these questions forms the basic objective of this paper. Briefly stated, the questions are as follows:

1. How can we best facilitate the children's acquisition of the English language?

2. How can we affect the preschool experiences of these children in such a way as to promote their subsequent elementary school adjustment?

3. What kinds of innovations and adaptations in curriculum materials, teaching styles, nursery school designs and other nursery school procedures would be necessary to realize the above goals?

4. Furthermore, if the children in the Family Schools do achieve a mastery of English, then at the end of their nursery school experience they will become "true bilinguals". In recognition of the increasing value of such linguistic skills, and that foreign language study is now required in California's elementary schools can we significantly affirm value and develop the child's mother-tongue so as to preserve this unusual head-start for them?

These questions have led us in many directions and have left us with still more queries. We hope to set down the highlights of our findings, and the best recommendations issuing from them.

Membership

Within any single class in the Family School, there is a wide range of characteristics to take into account in planning to meet their needs. There is no reason to expect any less a range of individual differences in this group than in any other group of nursery school families. The generalizations listed below serve as tentative guidelines for development of curriculum and teaching strategy for these schools.

We must expect to find in the Family Schools culturally diverse ways of perceiving and performing child-rearing functions. The essential nature and scope of these diversities can be understood only through actual experience with each of the families. All young parents in America today have to deal with some child-rearing alternatives and decisions which were never faced by their own parents. For these young immigrant parents, this is especially true.

The characteristics which we list are tentative, and serve as a very broad orientation to the problems to be solved by the Family Schools.

The Adults: General Characteristics

A. The mothers enroll in the Family Schools primarily in order to participate in the English-Americanization classes provided by the Adult Education Department of the San Francisco Unified School District. The participation of the children in the nursery school is not usually a main motive for them to come to the Centers.

B. The mothers cannot participate in the English language classes unless adequate child care services are provided during class time (the fathers attend these classes at night and both parents could come at night only if they were able to obtain baby-sitting services).

C. All of the families in the Schools have limited financial resources and all are recent immigrants to the United States.

D. The reasons for immigration vary: some come in order to join relatives; or to escape to the U.S.A. from the dangers of political upheaval; or are refugees from other kinds of personal and economic loss; others have come because of the classical immigration motives; to take advantage of the greater opportunities for work, education, higher standard of living and gains generally associated with upward social mobility. Although the immigration quotas for nations of the North and South American continents are unlimited, the quota for Chinese immigrants is restricted. Certain special legislation has made it possible for many refugees and escapees to immigrate. Pending legislative proposals and amendments suggest that the numbers of Chinese immigrants will continue to increase for some time.

E. The usual families in the Schools have at least three children who are close in age.

F. In the Telegraph Hill Social Center, the largest ethnic group is Chinese; the largest language group speaks Cantonese.

G. In the Mission Neighborhood Family Center, the largest group is made up of recent immigrants from South and Central America; the second largest group is from Mexico.

H. In both the Chinese and Spanish-speaking groups, some of the families have come from rural settings, others from urban settings. In both groups, some parents are illiterate in their mother-tongue. The mastery of English is urgent for all of these families. Some of the reasons have already been indicated. Another reason is related to certain bureaucratic procedures required of every family today. Filling out forms, applications and handling bills, etc., demand a minimum of English language skill. These procedures seem to be increasing for all families. Obviously, also, mastery of the language is a major aspect of acculturation.

I. Observations of the South and Central American families who participate in the Mission Neighborhood Family Center School indicate that they are among the most highly motivated members of the group. Many of them have come from the urban centers of their native countries. They are reported to be striving hard to become very good Americans. They may not yet comprehend the operational steps required for upward mobility, but their eagerness to learn English and to improve their employment potential appear to constitute strong goals for them.

The Children

1. All of the children in the Family Schools come from homes where a language other than English is spoken most of the time. These languages are mainly either Spanish or Chinese. There is a continuum of language styles in both groups which are considered "high" or "low" by their own language-community. This style, of course, depends upon rural-urban, educational and social class origins.

2. The children come from dwellings which provide inadequate indoor and outdoor play space.

3. The neighborhood friendship patterns tend to limit the children to their own ethno-language groups.

4. A few of the children in the groups come from homes where Italian, Japanese, Tagalog, or Samoan, etc., is the language spoken.

5. Most of the children come from families where there are from three to eight siblings.

6. In most cases, the child in the Family School is the eldest in the large family. The mothers tend to enter the Family Schools with their earliest chidren.

7. In any single group of nursery school children in the Family Schools, there is as wide a range of idiosyncratic developmental and behavior patterns as one would find in any other nursery school group.

8. These children have some particular past, ongoing and anticipated experience which other young children do not have and, in turn, lack some which most of their American contemporaries usually do have.

9. The children come from homes which predispose them to their elementary school experience in qualitatively different ways from most American middle-class children.

10. Reports indicate that the sleeping habits of the children differ from those of their American middle-class contemporaries. They often go to bed much later, and sleep much ater in the mornings than is recommended for healthy development.

11. Virtually all of the children watch television. It is reasonable to assume that they watch it possibly as much as 20 hours a week (see 8).

12. Observations and reports indicate that some difficulty with separation-anxiety (when the child is separated from his mother at the beginning of the school term) is the rule, rather than the exception in the Family Schools.

13. Attendance patterns suggest unusually low resistance to colds and other typical early childhood infections. The attendance pattern also tends to intensify the separation problems for the children.

General Observations

The Social Workers at both Centers, Mr. Ricardo Morada, and Mrs. Julianna Chin, reported the recurring problem of attendance failure and irregularity. Even when families have attended regularly they arrive very late, often too late for a meaningful session for both mother and child.

The reasons for these attendance problems seem to be associated with illness in the family, or pregnancy. They may also be due to culturally different ways of perceiving the managing time and routines (70), which obviously would affect the nursery school experience for the children. It also tends to diminish the slow process of English language mastery for the mothers.

At both Centers the mothers are reported to have shown profound concern for their childrens' behavior. The children arrive for their nursery school sessions in their "Sunday-best" clothes; good behavior to the mothers is associated with "grown up" or adult-like conduct. Some of the Latin American children are reported to ask for coffee instead of juice at juice-time.

It seems also that most of the mothers are unable to find time to take the children to a nearby park for opportunities to play and explore. Most of the families do not own automobiles; therefore, most of the children have not visited the zoo, Golden Gate Park, or other local spots of interest to children.

On the whole, the young Chinese families are cut-off from many relationships which are characteristic of cultures in which extended family ties are traditionally important. The young mothers are described as lonely and constantly confined to the house. There are some relatives for many of them but, unlike former times, the relatives are working also. To some extent, close friendships among the co-linguals helps to fill in the gaps left by the loss of close extended family ties. Such friendships tend also to delay the acquisition of English.

We wonder to what extent the classical patterns of the Chinese family system are maintained or affected by rapid cultural changes. What happens, for example, when the Chinese immigrant families attempt to adopt the styles of middle-class American families? This is one of many questions which remains to be examined.

The fact that these families have immigrated would seem to distinguish them in some way or another from others of their original nation-ethnic group. This distinction may be a matter of financial resources, social awareness, strong sense of adventure, political fortuities, helpful relatives, motivational patterns or just luck!

Literature

There is ample sociological and anthropological literature from which to gain insight into the nature of family life of the various cultures represented in the Family Schools, as well as the problems of immigrants (53) (54) (68) (80) (81) (82) (103) (119) (130).

Nevertheless, in attempting to plan programs for these young immigrant families today, we would probably find a literature concerned with the impact of rapid cultural, social and technological change to be more helpful.

Roucek points out that the three areas of the immigrants' native culture which tend to survive the longest in the new country are "language, food habits and family life" (107, p. 225). Just how this cultural survival is achieved most likely varies from one family to another. It is probably related to specific aspects of their origins as well as experience in the host country.

It is generally assumed that child-rearing behavior is a function of the way in which the parent has been reared (1). The traditional intergenerational conflict associated with the growth of the first generation after immigration (100, p. 214) is not likely to appear while that first generation is of preschool age.

EXPLORING THE PROBLEMS

At the Family Schools

Observations of the children in the Family Schools confirm the fact that these children are working at the same developmental tasks generally associated with mental health as any other preschool children. To provide help with these very important developmental tasks is one of the basic objectives of the Family Schools, and in all other nursery schools. The various ways in which nursery education can help and promote healthy emotional development has been amply delineated. (3) (13) (14) (30) (38) (52) (90) (102) (105) (126)

As we meet the children in the Family Schools, they are as likely to have positive self-concepts as children in any other nursery school group who are not "culturally deprived."

The Chinese, Mexican or Nicaraguan family can provide for the growing child the affective and cultural experiences necessary for positive self-concept development in their own ways. These children have not necessarily grown up in the same kind of "prestige vacuum" which Johnson describes for the Negro slum child (67, pp. 115-117).

It is reasonable to assume that the self-concepts developed in the families of the various cultures represented in the Family Schools has

different facets from those of the middle-class American family. They are not necessarily negative facets. But, as Sears points out "as the child grows, he begins to incorporate in himself some of the reflected appraisals made by 'significant others' in his life" which have important bearing on his self-concept development. (114) Thus, the nursery school teachers in the Family Schools need to be sensitive to the impact of themselves as the new "significant others" whose appraisals are rooted in culturally different expectations and values.

In some respects the children in the Family Schools are similar to children often described as culturally disadvantaged.

Literature on the Culturally Different Child

Larson and Olson isolated four general characteristics by which to identify those whom they have called "culturally deprived children." (77)

1. Language Development, defined as "academically inadequate receptive and expressive linguistic skills." (ibid. p. 4)

2. Self-Concept "which will not foster success in school," manifesting itself in a tendency for the children to "devalue themselves as scholars or students."

3. Characteristics pertaining to culturally different social skills.

4. Characteristics pertaining to culturally different views of the world.

With the exception of the self-concept, Larson and Olson's description pertains to most of the children in the Family Schools, albeit in somewhat different ways.

Negative self-concepts with respect to school achievement are not likely to have been developed during the preschool years. Such negative feelings probably occur in the elementary school, and may become crystallized there. It is possible that such self-concepts are unavoidable consequences of the child's sensing of his language inadequacies. This may function for the young immigrant child like the self-fulfilling prophecy Clark has described for the slum child. (32, p. 21)

For a child to see himself specifically as a "scholar or a student" is not a relevant issue during the nursery school experience. The self-concept learning objective during these years is to help the child to "conceive of himself" as a unique individual who is wanted and important, achieving and capable both at home and in the group at school. (9, passim) This is a basic need common to all children.

These basic generalized facets of the self-concept are to be learned so that they are "known" to the child at such a depth that they are not constantly questioned. If these learnings are well on their way during the preschool years, they can stand the child in good stead when he is challenged by more and new specific demands and expectations. Nursery schools have many ways of helping children to get on "the right foot" in these respects. (See 105, 126)

Probably the most helpful discussion of the psychological and developmental considerations involved in helping the culturally different child comes from Martin Deutsch in a paper prepared for the "Work Conference on Curriculum and Teaching in Depressed Urban Areas." (37) Some of these will be discussed under another heading.

In addition to the salient cultural and environmental factors to be considered in planning curricula for such culturally different children, Deutsch cautions against attempting to make middle-class Americans out of them. (ibid, p. 2) It is not within the scope of this paper to examine the profound implications of this latter point. This question merits examination from the point of view of many disciplines. We can only sketch a few of the related factors which our curriculum and teaching strategies will need to consider.

We are asking the children in the Family Schools to feel at home in two cultures; the culture of their home, and that of which the public school is both a transmitter and a product. To be sure, both cultures are in the process of adaptation and change and are not likely to represent rigid, stable or immutable cultural systems. No studies of the implications of this kind of developmental situation for children of the preschool age have been obtained. At the turn of the century, when large numbers of immigrants were settling, there were no nursery schools, and thus little contact with new culture for the very young. By definition, the "preschooler" had not been exposed to school culture, (nor to television). Neither the child nor the parents were confronted with the effects of such possible culture confusion.

Roucek and others (106) (107) (29) (130) point out that "sooner or later the child (of the immigrant) often feels that the two worlds are incompatible" and he must make a choice. To what extent the preschooler experiences a need to make such a choice awaits further research.* How shall our curriculum and teaching strategies take such potential conflicts into account?

1. Until we can learn more about its possible effects on the child, we can lean on the knowledge that preschool children can understand and do grasp the fact that there are differences in expectations at home and at school. Such differences confront almost all nursery school children. If they receive support whe

*Lado discusses, for instance, the cultural-linguistic differences in the perception and valuing of animals between the Anglo and Hispanic cultures. Normally American preschoolers are expected to project warm, friendly sibling qualities onto many animals. Spanish-speaking people do not. It would be interesting to know how a young child can handle conflicting ways of relating to the same referent. (71, p. 116)

they meet each of the sets of expectations, they can be comfortable in both settings.

2. It would seem to be very important for the two settings to be consistent within themselves. This implies some mutual understanding; it will also be more likely to work if the nursery school personnel has insight into its own functions and goals.

3. If one cultural "set" does not denigrate the other, but affirms it, the child's accommodation of both of them will be easier.

4. We work from the assumption that to the immigrants' children their home culture forms the base and the core in which they grow. Home and family constitute the source, shelter and haven of identity. As important as their peers are to them, the way in which children experience their parents constitutes the basis of personality formation, especially in these early years.

5. Reaching out beyond home provides the child with opportunities to expand and extend this base and to add more cultural styles and alternative ways of perceiving and behaving. Such styles do not have to be mutually exclusive or displacing. (Cf. 36,24) It is undoubtedly true that at later ages there are some difficulties connected with "living in two worlds"--not unlike the inter-generational conflicts of all other children at those ages.

For the present, we assume that the challenge to the children--of "blending and harmonizing their various cultural encounters, given adequate parental and teacher support, can result in the development of unique, creative, self-actualizing individuals who enrich the whole social scene."*

English Acquisition and Acculturation

Outside of the learning objectives shared by other nursery schools, one of the major objectives of the Family Schools is to help the children to learn English. McCarthy points out that

> "a basic mastery of spoken language is normally acquired very rapidly during the preschool years...and the child whose language development is seriously delayed for any reason labors under an almost insurmountable handicap in his social and academic relationships. The earlier a child can acquire facility in linguistic expression, the sooner he is free to reap the benefits of the use of this valuable tool in all his social and intellectual pursuits." (84 p. 494)

Previous experience with these children indicates that most of them enter elementary school with significant deficiencies in English language

* Mary B. Lane, Personal Communication.

skills although they may have achieved quite adequate mastery of their mother-tongue. (34) (94) No data have been made available from the San Francisco Unified School District which would indicate the nature and scope of these difficulties. Because of the homogeneity of the school population in the two neighborhoods served by the Centers, (111) and the tendency of the school program to settle at the level of its students, (104) these language handicaps may be barely perceptible to school personnel.

In the course of this investigation, the reports, observations and information obtained, left no doubt that helping the children with their learning of English language skills constituted a priority task for the Family Schools. In planning a nursery school curriculum and developing teaching strategies with this learning objective in mind, the truism that language is caught not taught probably served at the best working assumption.

It is well known that young children "pick-up" a foreign language in a matter of days. It must be pointed out also that "comprehension is always more advanced than production." (11, p. 41) For the immigrant children, the discrepancy between comprehension may be even wider than is normally true for young children.

While children do comprehend much adult speech, and at times produce it, they usually speak the language of their close age-mates. They are quick to adopt the vocabulary, styles, slang, and expressions of other children. It is also well known that young children can learn a second language without foreign accent because of the plasticity of their speech organs.

Thus the English language can be easily "caught" by our Family School children, without foreign accent,--provided that there is adequate contact with native English speakers. Adequate contact, in this case, must include English-speaking age-mates.

The neighborhood friendship patterns do not provide such adequate contact. Even those in the neighborhood who do speak English may not provide models for the kind of linguistic skills believed necessary to meet school expectations. We also do not know to what extent the friendship pattern of the neighborhood tends to be confined to co-linguals because of the language barrier, or whether this confinement is due to other non-linguistic factors. We do know that the children have no opportunity to practice the use of English at home because their parents come to the Center in order to learn it. Thus, it becomes of paramount importance to provide regular contact with English-speaking children for the young immigrants in the Family Schools.

To discuss language behavior apart from culture tends to distort the nature and functions of both. Church points out that in acquiring language

> "the child is not learning merely to speak or to understand the words, or to build up a stock of words--he is learning a whole mode of behavior."(italics ours) (31, p. 61)

This whole mode of behavior is rooted in the culture of which the language may be seen both as a product or a reflection and a patterning factor in the development of the individual carriers of that culture. (10, p. 521) The inter-relatedness of language, culture and personality formation, etc. has been discussed elsewhere. (86, 79)(68) Brooks states the matter rather strongly by saying that "language and culture are not separable." (20, p. 85)

This would be especially true for young children for whom meaningful learning experiences are those which are concrete rather than abstracted from indirect experience.

The Whorfian hypothesis continues to receive attention from disciplines. It states that "the structure of a human being's language influences the manner in which he understands reality and behaves with respect to it." (27, p. 23) It is difficult to foresee how the children in the Family Schools might deal with such language-bound cognitive differences, but the teachers will need to be sensitive to these possibilities.

Although language and thought are not assumed to be isomorphic, the interpenetration of the two is such that helping children with their language development is one way of fostering their cognitive development.

Experience of Others with Mixed Language Groups

This approach was successfully undertaken in a joint project of the Decoto Elementary School District and California State College at Hayward under the direction of Dr. Mildred Sabath. In this project, Spanish-speaking and Anglo-American children were grouped together in a nursery school program. Standard nursery school procedures were used, and some new approaches emerged during the project. (108)

Sabath reports that the group met on two consecutive days (Wednesday and Thursday) in order to help the Spanish-speaking children to develop a concept of "tomorrow" by discussing plans for Thursday on Wednesday. She also reports that the teacher's participation in the children's play was thoughtfully directed to helping them with verbalization and exposing them to the dominant culture patterns. The teachers were also active in bringing Anglo-American children into the Spanish-speaking play. But the spontaneous play of all the children was sufficient to expose the Spanish-speaking children to the behavioral and conceptual models representing the dominant culture. The Anglo-American children also provided vocabulary, phrase and gesture models to the other children at a developmental level most useful for them. Sabath points out also that most teachers have had experience with one or two foreign children in a group and have observed the ease with which they learned the dominant culture. It is only when such children occur in large numbers that acculturation seems to become a problem.

The Pacific Oaks Children's School at Pacific Oaks College in Pasadena attempted to help similar children by bringing six Spanish-speaking children into a regular nursery school summer session. The report of this experiment

concludes that

> Language development in Spanish-speaking children can take place in a normal nursery school setting...It seems to be dependent on the child first developing a sense of trust in his teachers and a feeling of acceptance and confidence in the new environment. The climate of the school and the skill of the teachers in understanding children, and in building teacher-child and child-child relationships, are therefore of primary importance. Non-verbal communication is usually a bridge to verbal communication. In order to accomplish this, the teacher-child ratio needs to be small enough to permit individualized teaching. (96, p. 5)

A similar approach on an elementary school level is being tried in the Oxnard Elementary School District and involves transporting twenty-four children to a unilingual school. The experiment is based on the hypothesis that Mexican-American children are inhibited in learning English in a class of only Mexican-Americans. (95)

These projects are notable exceptions to the practice of attempting to help non-English-speaking children in a group of like-handicapped children, relying on drill, repetition, instruction and imitation of the teacher. Besides the importance of mixing the language groups, there are indications that the age-grouping should be carefully planned.

Attempts to deal with very similar language learning problems in the USSR, where there are over 125 different language communities, and an intensive effort to improve language acquisition have given rise to consideration of age-grouping as a determinant of such learning. (128) Nechaeva reports that the lack of individualization of teacher-child relationships, and the homogeneous age grouping in the preschools results in "mental retardation." But, she says, "Where two year-olds associate with preschool children older than themselves, the conditions are objectively more favorable for their development. They can constantly watch older children at play, imitate their correct pronunciation and have diverse free oral communication..." She reported positive results only with teacher guidance and identified durable and lasting positive effects from mixed age-grouping. (93)

Along similar lines, Church points out that "we know that maturation stands in circular feedback relationship to experience." (31) The relationship of experience to cognitive development, of which language is an intimate part, is being discussed widely in educational literature. (64) (65)

In a recent article on the intellectual development of children, Hunt describes the nature of such development which gives much insight into the importance of experience in the early years. He also points up the importance of "matching" new experiences (inputs) with what the child has already "stored and coded" in such a way that the new is near enough to the previous to be usable by the child.

> Too little incongruity (between previous and new inputs) produces boredom...Too much produces fearful emotional stress...Probably only the individual himself can choose a source of input which provides him with an optimum of incongruity. (65, p. 86)

There has been much discussion of the so-called "egocentric" nature of early language behavior as asserted by Piaget in 1923. (43) (45) (101) (118) (129) For our present purposes, the essence of the question is well drawn by Sylvia Ashton-Warner in her recent book entitled Teacher. She points out that in her experience of teaching Maori children

> First words must have intense meaning
> First words must be already part of the dynamic life
> First books must be made of the stuff of the child himself, whatever and sherever the child. (7, p. 35)

The language of young children deals with the here and now as it is perceived by them. It is drawn from their own first-hand experience. Thus, stimulating language development requires underscoring the here and now, extending and broadening it; offering new first-hand experiences and providing ample opportunities for "discussion." The curriculum should offer those activities which are known to have conversation value--e.g. dramatic play, block, play, crayonds, and clay as other nursery schools do. (113, p. 849)

In setting the overall climate of the nursery school, it should be remembered that

> societies do differ in their beliefs about speech, the values they attach to it, the roles it serves in child development and social life generally, the way in which it is implicated in other aspects of life affecting the child. (11, P. 111)

Some cultures, for example, have a highly developed babytalk...others have none. Time restrictions prevented us from obtaining any specific information about the Family School members on these above points.

Language competence may not be equated with quantity of production, but with the quality of it. Therefore, the over-all climate of the school should make room for children to decline to enter "discussion" without undue pressure and without disapproval. It should also leave plenty of room for children to "initiate" discussion. It may be much more beneficial to the children to let a spontaneous discussion take over the story-time, than to finish the story!

Obviously, the teacher's role in fostering language development is important, and is recognized in standard nursery school procedure. (Cf. 105) For the teacher, language also is a "whole mode of behavior." She is a language model: providing vocabulary, syntax, phrases, etc., etc...Her

verbal and non-verbal behavior invites the children to linguistic expression; she also serves as a responsive and "dedicated" listener. She does these things intuitively every day. Her total behavior also provides incentives for language production.

The teacher also helps the children to learn songs, rhymes, fingerplays; she tells and reads stories; and she guides the children in ways which encourage them to verbalize their needs, intentions and ideas to other children and adults.

Preschool children are not maturationally capable of using speech correction as a way of improving language competence. While correcting a child's speech cannot help his language development, it can indirectly hinder it. It can lead to excessive self-consciousness, verbal shyness, and with very sensitive children, the correction may be felt as personal rejection. A more suitable way of helping to correct errors is to reflect or "mirror" back to the child what he has said in more correct (but not overly correct) form.

Language acquisition is related to many many different aspects of a child's development. It will be facilitated by many many different approaches. In the works of Berko and Brown

> Man is not a simple sort of monster gorged with words and phrases that are shaken out of him like pennies from a piggy bank. We experience a sample of language function when we are very young and are thereby structurally altered so that we spin out the implications of that experience the rest of our lives. (12, p. 555)

Curriculum and Teaching Strategy

Although age is a very tentative index of language development (or other development) at the preschool level, it seems wise to plan that among the English-Speaking children in the Family Schools, more than half of them should be in the older age group. Visits to the Family Schools of grade school English-speaking children would also be very helpful.

There are many other reasons why mixed age-grouping is a preferred practice in the nursery school. There is a surprising lack of appreciation of the rich learning resource residing in such mixtures. Some have already been discussed in other sections of this paper.

It is not only very good for the younger children in the group--in that they are provided with behavioral and conceptual models which are at a level of maturity and complexity only slightly ahead of them, thus easier to experiment with and "try on" than such models from adults--but it is also of great value to the older children in the group.

It gives the older children a chance to "play and experiment" with many feelings of vital concern to them having to do with adult roles,

younger siblings etc., etc... The teacher can be most helpful also by helping the older child to see in the young ones "where they have been"--a component of the concept of growth. Furthermore, when older children in a nursery school group have a chance to be genuinely and spontaneously helpful to the younger ones, they have an opportunity to sense the satisfaction that comes from feeling dependable--which can only be learned when someone depends on him.

This calls for skillful teaching. Over a period of time, a child should be encouraged to try out many different roles: to be both active and passive; to alternate leading and following, initiating and imitating, etc... (19)

Expanding a child's life-space, for some children just by virtue of attending nursery school, but also through excursions, field trips, travel, etc. is an experience known to be associated positively with language development. (84)

Our nursery school settings must offer an ample diversit y of materials, experiences and situations for "trial and error" play, exploration, experimentation, problem-solving and manipulative play.

The pacing of these offerings, in "bite-size" proportions is very important. Materials which would seem to be especially helpful at first may be those which are amorphous, or only grossly defined such as sand, clay, mud, water, blocks, car-shapes, doll-shapes, etc... This should provide ample opportunity for teachers to assess the learning needs of the children and to pick up clues about the children's readiness to assimilate more complex and differentiated materials. Hunt's work (65) confirms the notions that the children's own interests are the most reliable clues to their learning needs.

The most fruitful curriculum and teaching strategies will emerge only through actual experience with the children.

Development of Bilingualism

In the course of this investigation, the importance of directing efforts to maintain and develop the mother-tongue of the Family School children was frequently questioned. Similar and related projects usually do not include such efforts among their objectives.

Since the use of the mother-tongue is likely to revolve around family situations almost exclusively, then the only way in which the young child can develop his mother-tongue competencies to areas outside of the family matters, is through an extra-familial setting, such as the Family Schools. (To some extent this need is met for the Chinese families by the Chinese Language Schools (29)). Due to time limitations, we were unable to obtain up-to-date information about the scope of these schools and their work. Spanish-speaking families do not appear to have similar or comparable resources.

Nursery school teachers usually make purposeful efforts to help children to express themselves, to use words, and to "talk out their feelings." (105) Children can also become quite competent as expressing feeling states.

Woods points out that Oriental families tend to withhold the expression of feelings. (132, p. 32) If such expectations appear to be conflicting to the children in the Family Schools, the teacher may need to interpret and clarify the fact that the school and the home have different expectations, and that this is all right. Success with these kinds of cultural differences would seem to rest on the capacity of the Family School personnel to gain confidence of the children's parents.

In the case of adult immigrants, it may be possible to do very well with coordinate bilingualism. The young children in the Family Schools, however, will become "true compound bilinguals." This is because the content of verbalization in the nursery school (thus the percepts) refer to many of the same referents as the language spoken at home, e.g., in dramatic play, toileting, guidance and nurturant behavior of the teacher.

Other References

Affirming and developing the mother-tongue is a way of valuing the child's cultural background and heritage; thus, in a sense, the child himself. Woods suggests that for ethno-language groups "their language is a badge of brotherhood". (132, p. 34) Bram expresses it in the following way:

> "In order to appreciate the depth of human attachment to native speech, it should be remembered that the thrill of discovering and naming the phenomena of the world happens but once in each person's lifetime. Whatever other languages a person may learn subsequently, they cannot have the depth of emotional associations possessed by the speech of early childhood. The mother-tongue, Muttersprache, mame loshen (in Yiddish), and langue maternelle are as deeply imbedded in our inner worlds as our first infantile loves..." (17, p. 52)

The incorporation of this objective into the goals of the Family Schools is a matter of values, social commitment, as well as educational objectives. In recent years, many writers have directed their attention to this aspect of acculturation.

Woolsey discusses this point as it pertains to school-age children, saying that, "One of the most important things we can do (for the Spanish-speaking student) is to give him pride in his home language, and to urge and help him to become proficient in both languages." (133, p. 119) Roucek states the case more strongly in these words:

> "...unthinking teachers give no thought to the simple fact that the immigrant and his child are human beings and that they do not exist in a vacuum which may be filled at will with any ready-made substitute for a rich and variegated cultural heritage." (106, p. 232)

Calitri has written a provocative article entitled "Language and the Dignity of Youth" in which he explores some of the important socio-psychological implications in language differences.

> "One of the dangerous by-products of the attempts to raise the 'cultural' and educational levels of those who are different is that, in the desire to make them over, our teachers strip them of dignity, of individuality and self. Rather we should respect the native language as part of the human beings, and perhaps ask that our language be added." (24, p. 46)

It might be well to ask how relevant these considerations are at the preschool level.

In terms of acculturation, the preschool years are quite advanced. Language, food habits, family interaction patterns, values, behavior expectations, culturally patterned ways of expressing love, anger, approval, etc. are already known to the child in his preschool years.

To the extent that such cultural elements are part of the child at this age, it then seems appropriate to direct efforts to affirm the mother-tongue.

To a large extent, children such as those in the Family Schools tend to lose their mastery of the mother-tongue. We have not been able to obtain any data as to when this loss occurs. It would seem from casual observation and reports, that it occurs some time around the age of eight, or during the third grade. At this time, many of them become what Ervin calls "hearer bilinguals" (41, p. 141) who can understand and translate the mother-tongue, but who do not speak it.

Reasons for this frequent loss of the first language are not immediately discernable. One factor is the extent to which the mother-tongue is maintained only within the family or in intimate "situation-topic" settings. (44) In this case, as the child extends his experiences outside of the home and intimate family settings, he would begin to get "rusty" at the mother-tongue (although for some Chinese children the language schools may avert this).

Another reason is that different languages are accorded different degrees of prestige by the host country. (15)

Brault points out that there might be three reasons: that the native language does not continue to be useful; that the home fails to encourage retention; but rather emphasizes Americanization, or that the mother-tongue is not the "right" dialect. (18) His discussion has much to say also to the elementary school approach to this problem. However, it is doubtful that anything can be done in the preschool years which would avert this later loss.

Still other consequences of helping children to expand their use and knowledge of their mother-tongue has to do with neuro-physiological aspects of language learning. In a recent article entitled "The Uncommitted Cortex--The Child's Changing Brain", Wilder Penfield, neuro-surgeon of McGill University makes a clear case for the early intorduction of a second language which may be relevant to our Family School children. It seems reasonable to infer from what he says that the early acquisition of a second language results in the development of certain generalizable functions of the cortex, such that even if the second (or first) is lost, according to Penfield...

> "The adult who has previously learned some other second language in childhood is likely to learn a later third and fourth language faster and better than a unilingual adult. This greater facility of the bilingual adult may be due to the well-developed switch mechanism which he acquired in childhood." (99, p. 81)

Aside from biological propitiousness, it has also been suggested that the early years are good because at this time the child can "put in a full day" at the job; he is expected to make speech errors and is not ridiculed or made to feel self-conscious about his speech behavior. (11, p. 137)

Bilingualism is probably almost as old as man himself, and has certainly always been a common phenomenon on the American scene. Arsenian states that "no single language can possibly claim possession of the entire wealth of human culture... A single language will admit an individual to but a limited area of human experience..." (6, p. 13)

The vast and growing literature concerning bilingualism presents no unified view of its impact upon the child. The difficulty of assessing the effects of bilingualism stem in part from the wide range of extra-linguistic considerations in language acquisition. In a recent survey of research on the effects of childhood bilingualism, Jensen listed 220 references! Jensen's summary indicates the inconclusiveness of research data gathered thus far; it also indicates the significance of the extra-linguistic aspects of child development in this matter. (66)

Research indicates also that there are various degrees and types of bilingualism. In the terms used by Haugen, the children would enter the Family Schools as "pre-bilingual because they are no longer pure monolinguals, but their knowledge of the second language does not consist of more than a few words. (57)

Lambert describes two types of bilingualism; 1) "Coordinate bilingualism," the learning of the second language in a "culturally, temporally or functionally segregated context" from the first one; 2) "Compoung bilingualism" which occurs when the two languages are learned in the sam context and therefore have the same percepts as referents in two languages. (73)

True compound bilingualism is more likely to cause "inter-lingual" confusion than other types of bilingualism (41) (Cf 20, p. 35-39). This "inter-lingual confusion" may mean that the child is likely to switch languages

inadvertently from time to time. This does not necessarily result in mental or personality handicaps of any kind.

Curriculum and Teaching Strategy

The important variable in the effect of such bilingualism seems to be how this behavior is received and treated in the social and inter-personal environment. Therefore, in teaching, strategies need to be sensitive, thoughtful and purposeful in setting the overall climate so that his behavior is accepted and understood--not only by the teachers, but by the other children in the group.

It should be emphasized that helping preschool children to grow and develop understanding, empathy and insight into each other's behavior is a significant role played by the teacher. Her strategy for this is not admonition, moralizing or lecturing with an appeal to altruism. It is undertaken both consciously and unconsciously--through identification processes, interpretation and integrative guidance. (See 5)

Some sources suggest that the so-called ill-effects of childhood bilingualism can be minimized by providing different adult sources for each of the two languages being acquired. (117, p. 224) To impose the restriction that teacher A always speaks to the children in English and Teacher B always in the other language, would seem to be asking the teachers to demonstrate the kind of language behavior we do not wish to have the children learn. The teachers, or at least one of the adults in the nursery school, should be a model of bilingual behavior which demonstrates competence and comfort with two different languages.

Several studies of language development in young children indicate the prevalence of "naming" activities in the early language behavior.* (84) (118) This is usually associated with the enumeration of the names of objects and people in the first-hand environment. It also shows in the frequency with which young children ask "what's that?"

Encourageing children to name objects in two languages would seem to be one way to expand the bilingual vocabulary. Also recounting the same stories to the children in two languages would seem to help with bilingual development.

Again, pacing the introduction of objects and items, allowing time for learnings to "settle" must take cognizance of the maturation of the individual child. Undoubtedly the child-child interaction will stimulate much of this kind of learning. There may be times when such stimulation may need to be modified by the teacher.

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*Because of the subject of this report, we have stressed verbal behavior. It should be kept in mind, however, that non-verbal behavior, communication and expression are extremely important aspects of child and teacher behavior, and of culture generally. (Cf. 51)

The extent to which the Family School children watch television was mentioned with striking frequency in the course of this investigation. We were unable to ascertain just how the children manage and assimilate their viewing experience, and what it might contribute to their language acquisition and acculturation.

The Himmelwhite study of television and children did not include pre-schoolers in the sample. However, her findings suggest that the heavy viewers probably go to bed very late. (60) Maccoby's study suggests that children such as those in the Family Schools watch television because their parents do, rather than to satisfy excessive needs for fantasy life. (85)

If the Family School children do not "shut-out" the sound (because they do not understand the language), we can assume that the English language will have a very familiar sound to them when they come to school. We can assume also that they have acquired some correct word associations as well as some incorrect associations. There is a reason to believe also that the children acquire many cognitive and social misconceptions. (Cf. 62) There are many aspects to television viewing which remain to be discovered. Do these children "shut-out" the foreign language? Does the viewing affect their visual and auditory acuity? How does it affect acculturation, etc., etc. Gaining insight into these questions will be one of the objectives of the teaching strategy.

Preschool Experience and Elementary School Adjustment

There are a number of extra-linguistic aspects to the problems encountered by the Family School children upon entrance to elementary school. These aspects can be grouped in the category of cultural differences.

It is not uncommon to hear reports from various people in the general community which describe the Chinese children as those who are handicapped by shyness (they are usually stereotyped as "well-behaved").

Spanish-speaking children, particularly boys, are reported to have difficulty in "delaying gratification." Such behavior patterns occur in many other nursery school children who are neither Chinese nor Hispanic in back-ground. Nursery schools have many ways of being helpful with these problems.

There is some danger of the self-fulfilling prophecy (i.e. behaving in accordance with the way one has been typed) for the Family School children. It is much easier to stereotype the behavior of ethnic groups than individual representatives of the dominant culture.

It is also possible that some culture-bound characteristics are simply "the Chinese way" or the "Guatemalan way" of <u>being</u>. The child should not be wrenched from "his way of being" by a too rapid pacing of events and new perceptions. Sensitivity is called for with these possibilities. For example, some of the Chinese children come to the Family School in their native style of dress. This should be welcomed in the nursery school. If development is proceeding well, they will sooner or later express an interest. It is not immediately apparent why such native dress should not be welcomed in the public school also. The other children may find the dress a source of great interest and delight.

Other Experiences

Taba states that, "The greater the social distance (between the home and school culture), the greater also the diffucluty in using the means of learning that the school provides, the likelihood of hostility to school, and the resistance to what it teaches." (122)

Deutsch also mentions this aspect of elementary school adjustment...

> "The culture of their environment is a different one from the culture that has molded the school and its educational techniques and theory. We know that it is difficult for all peoples to span cultural discontinuities... This transition must have serious psychological consequences for the child, and probably plays a major role in influencing his later perceptions of other social institutions as he is introduced to them." (37)

Because of the unavailability of data about these immigrant children in the schools, we cannot deal with anything more than generalizations extrapolated from the reports of children who are similar to them in some respects. Such generalizations indicate different ways of valuing intellectual attainment, motivation patterns, management and perception of time, etc. from the so-called middle-class American child. (94) (115) (119)

Curriculum and Teaching Strategies to Achieve Goals

Maintaining highly personal and individualized teacher-child relationships, and building rapport with the parents would seem to be important steps to take toward helping the families with these kinds of acculturation problems.

Many of the children have not been outside of their own immediate neighborhoods and lack the kinds of learnings which are stimulated by such experiences. This can be helped by arranging some excursions for the Family School children.

It is also worthwhile to keep in mind that children can get much of this learning by taking occasional walks around the School itself. The value of the experience is not necessarily related to the distance traveled! Nursery school teachers already have many ways of using excursions for broadening the children's experiences.

In the course of this investigation, it was suggested that these children come to the elementary school lacking a core of experience in common with the other children in the elementary school.

It is difficult to assess to what extent this reported "handicap" might be a function of the school's approach to these children. (37)

All of these children have families, meals, clothes, favorite television shows, pastimes and probably songs too! In just this simple list, there is much in the way of a common core of experience upon which to build a kindergarten curriculum.

Our approach to the problem of language acquisition-mixing the ethno-language groups - is most likely the best way of helping the children with the extra-linguistic problems of acculturation also.

Obviously, the cross-cultural contact with the teachers in the Family Schools will also help to provide these children with behavioral and conceptual models similar to the public school culture. By virtue of having this contact both earlier than they otherwise would have it, and in a setting which provides a professionally trained teacher, their transition to the elementary school culture should be easier.

Lambert points out that...

> "...by learning another social group's language, (the learner) has made the crucial step in becoming an acculturated part of a second linguistic-cultural community." (73)

However, he goes on to point out that this may be a "broadening" experience, or sometimes it may engender "anomie" or a feeling of normlessness. The latter possibility seems to call for clear explication of the norms of the school (e.g. "At school we do so-and-so," and "At home we do so-and-so."); it also calls for consistency within the school culture. The "school culture norms" need to be expressed in such a way that the children can readily and comfortably perceive them.

With respect to all of the age-appropriate cultural elements that the immigrant children need to learn, their interaction with the English-speaking children will be very significant. This is true not only for the spontaneous interaction, but also for the interaction purposefully facilitated by the teacher. It is not necessary to list these various ways here.

The teacher's own way of responding to the children is one important way in which she demonstrates what kind of interpersonal relationships she values. When the over-all climate of the school is warm, accepting and integrative, the immigrant children will have emple opprotunity to "catch-on" to various aspects of school behavior, and to develop important social skills. Acceptance and support are, as always, vital to healthy growth and development. It would also be a vital way of helping children with cultural discontinuities and transition.

Acceptance is not the "means" to the learning "end"; it is rather that when children are accepted, they become free to grow, learn and respond to challenge.

The emotions expressed by acceptance are "behaved" in culturally patterned verbal and non-verbal ways. In other words, it is not enough for the adult to be accepting--it is enough only when the child <u>feels</u> accepted. It is likely

that adult behavior which makes it possible for a Chinese or a Mexican child to feel accepted is different from that which succeeds with a middle-class American child.

For example, Johnny may feel accepted because his teacher frequently asks him friendly questions about himself and everything that interests him. Such teacher behavior might be experienced differently by a child of another ethno-language background. Perhaps for him, offering food may be the appropriate way of "behaving" acceptably.

The most fruitful teaching strategies will emerge by working with these children with great sensitivity to their individual personality characteristics and past experiences.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS

English - Speaking Children in the Group

If we are to mix the ethno-language groups in the Family Schools, some attention must be given to the American child's contact with foreign language and culture.

Normally one of the major reasons for advising against teaching a second language in the early years is that it has no real meaning or usefulness to the children in their own everyday first hand environment. A homogeneous group of American children in a conventional nursery school have no good reason to be taught French - even though it is considered "refined" or "cultured" in some circles.

However, in the Family Schools, the American children have first-hand concrete experiences which would lend both meaning and usefulness to the acquisition of their school-mates' language. To the extent that this is true, no harm can come from their exposure to it, or their learning of it. (In the elementary schools which have, for example, 50% Chinese student bodies, the American children have real and genuine reasons for learning C Chinese. The largest settlement of Chinese people outside of China is within their own everyday life-space.) The children will also learn some of the extra-linguistic qualities of the foreign language group in the Family Schools.

At this point it cannot be considered one of the objectives of the Family Schools to facilitate foreign language learning for American preschool children. But, because the teachers value both languages used in the School, and they encourage integrative interpersonal relationships among all of the children, and is close to each of them herself, some two-way learning should take place.* The attitudes of the American parents to this possibility will have to be ascertained before more specific recommendation can be made on this point.

The question has been raised as to how to encourage American families to enter their children in the Family Schools. They can be encouraged for all of the same reasons as parents enter their children in any other good nursery school. These reasons do not have to be dealt with here. In addition, it can be brought to the attention of the American parents in the neighborhood, that most good nursery schools have long waiting lists and are far too few to accommodate all of the families who wish to use them.

Parents can be reminded also that their children's exposure to different cultural and ethnic groups can only serve them in positive ways in terms of amny different aspects of their development. Gesell and Ilg have pointed out that "...the second language, spoken and enacted, will make the child aware of other peoples, broaden his outlook, and facilitate the intellectual acquisition of a second language at a later and higher level". (97)

Rapport with the Parents

Every person who was consulted during this investigation made some reference to the importance of building rapport with the parents as a factor to the success of the Family Schools.

Since the mothers enroll their children in the School in order to attend English-Americanization classes, they cannot be asked to spend much time in the nursery school. As it stands now, the mothers are expected to make arrangements for two of them to assist in the nursery school at each session. The Adult Education Department which provides the English classes has some stipulations with respect to the attendance of the mothers which must be taken into account in planning for the Family Schools.

The American mothers will also be asked to rotate days with the immigrant mothers in order to assist the teachers in the Family Schools. This will also help the immigrant mothers in providing some contact for them with the American mothers, through which to pick up some English and perhaps some American-mother "know-how"! The immigrant mother's participation in the Family Schools with the Englihs-speaking children will also afford her an opportunity to practice her English.

If it is true, however, that the non-English speaking children are likely to have unusual difficulty in separating from their mothers, then the solution to this problem should take precedence over her attendance at the English class.

We have no way of knowing how these mothers perceive this kind of problem. If they can be helped to understand the normal developmental aspects of separation anxiety, and the child's healthy need for reassurance at this time, they can be encouraged to stay with the child in the nursery school for a few sessions. This will give the child an opportunity to let one of the teachers "grow on

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*Joshua A. Fishman writes that "if bilingualism is good, it is good for "Yankees" as well as "immigrants", albeit for different reasons." (personal communication)

him". (Cf. 46)

When the teacher senses that the child has gained sufficient confidence and trust in her, she can then suggest that the mother return to the English class. The teacher should be guided by her own feelings here, since how she feels about handling separation problems has almost everything to do with the outcome of the crisis. (Behavioral contagion around separation crisis is fairly common in the nursery school, and can be diminished by scheduling those separations which are expected to be difficult on different days, after most of the children in the group are already comfortable in the school.)

Sometimes a teacher's realistic and supportive handling of separation anxiety is the beginning of a sound and trusting teacher-child relationship. It can also help a child to see himself as a "coper" - a person who can cope with difficult feelings and weather a storm. It is often also a time when the other children in the group display understanding and offer comfort. Successful management of separation anxiety is very important to all later growth. Every effort should be made to coordinate the concurrent demands of the nursery school and the English class so that both the mother and the child have their needs and problems handled in the best possible way.

Most of the immigrant parents in the group have very real everyday problems to solve, and may have little time for special or even casual meetings with the teacher. Such realistic factors are often mistaken for indifference and disinterest (112). Occasional special events or openhouse days might be planned in such a way that the mothers know that they are welcome at the nursery school.

The mothers can help the school by sewing things for the school, doing some small washing or cooking tasks related to the nursery school program. Allinsmith and Goethals point to one way in which the nursery school helps the parents:

> "A particular way that the nursery school may contribute to pupils' mental health is by the understanding of child development and mental hygiene a parent may gain from conversations with a teacher if his child attends a nursery school run by well-trained professional nursery educators." (3, p. 162)

There is no reason to believe that the immigrant parents have any particular feelings of inadequacy in their parental roles while their children are very young. One important challenge in the parent-teacher relationship is to find ways to help the parents grasp some of the implications of acculturation. If the parents can be helped to release their children from feeling compelled to observe and comply with their native culture and language patterns when they are away from home, but to value and expect such complaisance at home, then much difficulty can be averted.

Immigrant parents who can both release and support the children who must eventually live in the new world, will have greater success with passing on their own heritage to them. Roucek points out that very often, as the young child brings home the new language and culture "the authority and prestige accompanying the function of cultural purveyor shift...from parent to child" (107) This, of course, produces a feeling of threat for the parents. But

it is also not satisfactory to the child.

The child must be able to perceive his parents as a source of strength and protection. In order for parental love to be nourishing, the child must be able to see his parents as people to look up to, as self-appreciating and self-accepting. This may be easier if the parents demonstrate that they value their own native heritage, but demonstrate also that they still have wisdom and patience enough to understand the demands of acculturation pressures on their children.

Finding the best ways to build sound and trusting parent-teacher relationships will have to emerge from experience. Successful parent-teacher reationships may be the single most important determinant of the outcome of the Family School program.

Pre-Nursery School Children

When the mothers attend English classes many children are brought to the Family School Centers who are too young to benefit from the nursery school program. There is no reason to rush their acculturation. The younger siblings of nursery school children will have their acculturation accelerated and facilitated by the accomplishments of the older ones.

Arrangements for these children should be those of a creche. There should be ample crib space, and protected, safe play space. It is difficult to ascertain at this point just what number and ages of small children would be optimal for the creche corner. This will have to be determined by experience. If possible they should be located near to the nursery school but separated from it in such a way that the activities of the two groups of children are not distracting to each other.

Some of the very small children will need special attention for separation problems. The supervisor of the group will have to solve each crisis individually. Some of the children will need to join their mothers in the classroom, and sometimes the mothers will have to join the little ones in the creche. The little ones who have older siblings in the nursery school can often be helped with separation problems by their older brothers or sisters. These children should be free to come in and out of the nursery school for many reasons, but for this one in particular.

Some crawlers and toddlers need to be protected from picking up and swallowing small objects that the nursery age children handle well. In these cases ventures into the nursery school should be supervised carefully.

Minority Language Groups

In both the Mission Neighborhood Center and the Telegraph Hill Social Center, there may be just one or two children whose language is different from all of the others, e.g., Italian, Japanese, Persian, German, Tagalog, etc., etc..

The general activities of the school should reflect their backgrounds too, in songs, foods, dress-ups, etc., etc. Perhaps their mother's day to participate might be the one regular occasion to focus such attention on their language, fairy tales, etc. This will vary, depending on the particular mother's readiness to participate.

NURSERY EDUCATION

Its Development and Objectives

Nursery education has had a relatively short history in education. Its objectives and procedures have varied sufficiently with time and place that it seems wise to clarify the general working assumptions upon which the remaining discussion is based. Nursery education derives its principles from all of the behavioral sciences as well as the accumulated experience of nursery educators.

We suggest good nursery education to be that which is committed to those practices which best serve to provide the essential antecedents to the development of the "self-actualizing" person (9) (88) (105).

The nursery school is seen as both supplementary and complementary to the child's home. It is a setting which extends the home by offering broadening and enriching experiences which often cannot be provided at home.

The nursery school is not designed to be a preparation for kindergarten. Instead, it seeks to meet the needs of the child as they are in the preschool years. When the nursery school succeeds in doing this, the child then comes to his elementary school well prepared to benefit from it.

A good nursery school is one which provides an emotional climate, a physical setting and a cognitive environment for children (approximately two-and-a-half years old to school age) in which they are supported, encouraged and challenged to grow and learn to their own fullest potential. The physical, affective and cognitive aspects of growth in childhood are assumed to be dynamically inter-related and mutually inclusive. (Cf. (9) (12) (47) (48) (52) (76) (92))

Curriculum

In the nursery school we used the term "curriculum" in its generic sense, meaning "a plan for learning" (120, p. 11). This plan for learning has its ultimate focus on the best "way of preparing young people to participate as productive members of our culture" (120 p. 10).

Curriculum development, then, requires the blending of the knowledge of the kinds of learnings which are developmentally feasible and appropriate at this age, with our best guess of what direction our rapidly changing culture is likely to take (Cf. 14).

The teacher offers the children not only understanding, acceptance, support and guidance, but she also "interprets the environment, makes it meaningful for the children or they would starve in the midst of plenty."*

Strategies which help to interpret the environment are familiar to all nursery school teachers and are directed to help children to "see" more of what they are looking at, and to "hear" more of what they are listening to, and generally expanding the child's perception of the world around him. The teacher thus serves as a "stage-setter" and a "scene-shifter" who challenges and stimulates growth and learning in many many ways which involve thoughtful planning (74).

Perhaps no other phase of the educational process is as sensitive to the individual characteristics, competencies and capacities of the teacher as the nursery school. (Cf. 113) Therefore, any useful suggestions and recommendations for teaching strategies must take into account the unique personality attributes of the teacher who must use them. Strategies which work well for one teacher-child relationship may not be useful for another.

Tentative suggestions can be made by answering the question: What kinds of teacher behavior generally seems to facilitate the particular learnings we want for the child? This cannot be adequately answered in advance of knowing the child, and the teacher.

It is extremely important to recognize the empirical and emergent nature of good nursery education. Any attempt to spell out what should be done or said by the teacher in specific situations would betray the true nature and value of good nursery education. Nursery school teachers do not work from lists of specific do's and don'ts. Good teaching strategies cannot fail to emerge when the teacher knows the children personally, understands the nature of learning in the preschool years, and feels free to be herself.

There are many important and sound standard procedures used by all nursery schools, but they derive their value from being used in creative and flexible ways to meet diverse and growing needs in changing times.

A good nursery school setting is one which is carefully prepared so that it will be evocative of the learnings to be stimulated and facilitated. It is prepared with tested and tried, as well as experimental materials and equipment. It can always be augmented and changed as new ideas come to the fore, and as the children's growth indicates new strengths and needs.

Age-grouping practices vary widely from one nursery school group to another. Sears and Dowley summarize the research on this practice saying: "All the research seems to lead to the advocacy of heterogeneous grouping, but this policy is rarely practiced." (113, p. 853) More research on the effects of mixed age-grouping would be very helpful. For the time being, it seems obvious that the more the children in the group are different from each other,

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*Edith M. Dowley, personal communication

(not only in terms of age), the more they have to learn from each other. The rich and various learnings to be gained from such mixing do, of course, depend upon the teaching strategies used. (See also, 75, pp. 64-79)

Teaching Strategy

We have chosen to use the term teaching strategy rather than "technique" because it more fully reflects the essential purposefulness of the teacher's role in the nursery school. We wish to point out, however, that is extremely difficult to distinguish the concept of a teaching strategy from the concept of a curriculum in the nursery school. This is because a "plan for learning" and a teacher's behavior with respect to it are so deeply interwoven during these early years.

Teaching strategy in the nursery school refers to that kind of teacher behavior which tends to effect given learnings for a child, or for children in groups. Taba refers to teaching strategy as "consciously formulated plans" for implementing the curriculum. (123, p. 47)

Because of the nature of the learning and developmental tasks characteristic of the preschool years, much essential learning occurs without consciously formulated plans by the teacher (Cf. 102, p. 3-24). Such learning arises from the child's spontaneous interaction with the total nursery school environment. A flexible program, with a wide variety and diversity of materials, equipment and activities makes it possible for a child to select those learning situations which he is maturationally and experientially capable of using.

In developing an over-all nursery school curriculum we must answer three questions:

1. What are the learnings* we want to facilitate for each child? Thus, in the nursery school "we plan a curriculum for each child".** To answer this first question requires as full an assessment as possible of the past, present and anticipated physical, emotional, cultural and cognitive matrixes of each of the children.

2. How can we maximize the fact that the child is in a group of young children to his best growth and learning advantage?

   Interpersonal processes in the nursery school constitute a very significant part of our curriculum "content" and "materials". Because we know that all children have the same basic needs, and that each child has needs specific only to him, we can anticipate some of the answers to these questions. We know that all children

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*In nursery education the term "learning" is used very broadly. It includes maturation and development as well as enduring change in behavior due to experience.
**Edith M. Dowley, personal communication

need opportunities to be with other children. One of the ways in which the nursery school can extend the home environment is to provide such opportunities. The teacher in the nursery school helps the children to develop many important social skills for living as individuals in groups.

3. How must the over-all climate, management of time and space, selection of equipment, materials and activities, age-grouping, etc. be made in order to maximize the learnings for each of the children in the group?

Although these steps in curriculum development have been listed in a sequence in actual practice they occur interrelatedly and synergistically. The full curriculum in a good nursery school emerges during actual work with the children in a given group. It is acutely sensitive to the growth and changes in the children.

Glexibility is very purposefully built into the curriculum. Flexibility is not an end in itself. It is a purposeful approach to help young children to "discover" themselves, to explore and experiment in their environment.

CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDED PLAN FOR NURSERY SCHOOL

(1) General Facilities

The physical plant must meet, at minimum, the basic requirements of the State Department of Social Welfare. (22)

The basic requirements for indoor and outdoor equipment as listed by Todd and Heffernan (126) to include the necessary items for the school.

Standard procedures commonly used by all other nursery schools in all aspects of the nursery school program will provide a good nursery school experience for the children. (See for example, 110, pp. 44-45)

In addition, the following should be considered:

1. The decor and materials should reflect the various cultural backgrounds of the children. (e.g., Latin, American, and Chinese dolls, dress-up clothes, travel posters, photographs, etc.
2. Cooking utensils and table-ware in the dramatic play area should similarly reflect the backgrounds and traditional artifacts associated with them.
3. Phonograph records and musical instruments should similarly reflect the cultures represented in the group.
4. As far as possible, books which picture children with their own racial characteristics should be obtained. (Since the children cannot read, the text can be in any language).
5. The local branch of the San Francisco Public Library can help to obtain appropriate books and they should be encouraged to keep them on their shelves for others in the community. Parents can be asked to help with obtaining supplementary books and magazines which would be suitable.
6. A tape recorder should be available fro teachers to use with small groups of children, as well as with individual children.
7. An empty television cabinet would be a useful addition to the equipment.

8. Hand puppets, if possible those reflecting the cultural heritage of the children, should be in ample supply. Mothers might be encouraged to make special or experimental ones.
9. At least two real (second-hand) telephones should be available. Play telephones should be those which are sturdy enough to allow children to simulate dialing, etc.
10. An old typewriter, radio, clocks, calendars, assorted old instrument panels, etc., etc. should be available.
11. Films taken of the children should be shown from time to time. The children should be encouraged to inspect the film projector and camera to gain some understanding of delayed visual material.

(2) Composition of the Nursery School Group

1. Each nursery school group should consist of no more than 20 children.

2. Half of these children classified as non-English speaking children should be those whose mothers are in the English-Americanization class.
3. Half of the children should be those classified as English-speaking (See below).
4. The children in the group should be no younger than 2 1/2 years. Final decisions as to readiness for nursery school should be made by the head teacher.
5. All of the children should be free from severe physical and mental handicaps.
6. The ratio of adults (including head teacher, assistant teacher, two mothers, and a student trainee) should be about one for four children.

(3) Age Groupings

1. In the younger ages, (2 1/2 - around 3) there should be no more than four in each group.
2. Among the English-speaking children, no less than about 6 of them should be pre-kindergartners.

AGE	2 1/2 - 3	3 - 4	4 - up	Total
Non-English speaking	3	6	1	10
English Speaking	1	3	6	10
				20

(4) Qualifying the American Children

Characteristics which would make favorable candidates for the English-speaking children in the group should a composite of the following factors:

Parents: have completed high school; are reasonably literate; are willing to participate including regular assignment as a teacher's helper; open attitudes towards ethnic groups; adequate self-assurance in parental roles.

Children: friendly, warm, open and self-confident, adequately self expressive; adequate verbal skills.

(5) Admission Procedures

Arrangements made for admission of families should take into account the following:

The registration procedures a) for the mother in the Adult Education Class and b) for the child in the Nursery School.

Relevant information about both mother and child for the nursery school teacher.

Plans for the mother's participation days.

Orientation of the English-speaking mothers as well as the immigrant mothers to a) various school procedures and rules and b) to their participation-day responsibilities.

(6) Health Requirements

All families should meet the standard health requirements as indicated by the State Department of Social Welfare. If possible, such health forms as may be necessary, should be offered to the non-English speaking parents with an explanatory paragraph in their native language.

(7) Staff

Among the adults in the nursery school there should be a head teacher, assistant teacher, two mothers, and a student trainee.

One of the teachers should be "well-spoken" in English, one of them should be "well-spoken" in the dominant foreign language in the group.

(8) Special Activities

Special activities and excursions as planned in conventional nursery school programs will also be good for the Family Schools. In addition, the following ideas should be considered:

1. Much can be learned by taking walks around the same block several times and "looking for" different things on each occasion.
2. Activity schedules should allow time for the children to integrate their learning and "let things settle." It is easy to over-do special activities.
3. Arrangements should be made for the children to visit a nearby kindergarten class in a parochial and/or public school.
4. Arrangements should be made for the children to visit a television station and to watch the activities there. If possible, they should be able to appear on a television program, such as one of the children's shows which originates locally.

(9) Other Professional Resources

There are several liaison services available to the teachers in the nursery school of the Family Schools. The development of optimal ways of utilizing such services will be one of the ongoing objectives of the Center staff.

The teacher can consult the Public Health Nurse who serves the area about problems and topics of mutual concern, e.g., immunization, vaccination and physical examination needs of the children in the school.

The teacher of the English-Americanization classes and the nursery school teacher can exchange ideas and insights relevant to both of their jobs. There might be some ways to coordinate the "content" of the language class with the interests and activities of the children in the nursery school. To the extent that classroom procedures and student composition permit, there might be some ways that the adult education teacher can bring some child-rearing information to the mothers in her class. She may also be able to help the nursery school teacher to relay information about special procedures, e.g., registration of older children for public school, school holidays or special events, etc., etc..

There are many ways in whi.h liaison between the nursery school teacher and the Center's social workers can be mutually helpful in the work of each of them. The social worker can be helpful in arriving at solutions to such problems as unusually difficult behavior, needs for referral for special personnel and general help for the families, interpretation of confusing plans and requirements, etc., etc., etc...

Maximizing these liaison services should enhance the work of each of them.

Arthur W. Combs has said . . . . . .

> "Whatever we do in teaching depends upon what we think people are like. The goals we seek, the things we do, the judgements we make, even the experiments we are willing to try, are determined by our beliefs about the nature of man and his capacities." (33, p. 1)

We have sketched what we think the people for whom our programs are planned are like. We have outlined our goals and described the experiment we are willing to try. Our experience, too, will help us to judge the validity of our proposals.

SUMMARY

We have described briefly how this paper came to be written and what questions it hoped to answer.

In helping the Family School children to learn English, the most fruitful approach seems to be to mix the children with their English-speaking contemporaries. This same procedure also seems to be the most promising approach to help the children with their elementary school readiness, and their problems of acculturation.

The literature is cited on the advisibility and feasibility of fostering the children's bilingualism. While there are no unanimous findings to guide in specific ways, we think that this objective is a possible and promising one for the Family Schools. Much more work remains to be done on the effects of childhood bilingualism, but no one can doubt the increasing relevancy of bilingual competence in today's world and the foreseeable future.

The standard nursery school curriculum and teaching strategies offer adequate procedures for meeting the Family School children's needs, some new approaches are considered.

Our experience, too, will help us to judge the validity of our proposals.

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